/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy indi-
viduals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵕ, around 25 years old;
1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are
those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear
traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.
191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent
Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and
write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a
few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language
at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan
Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera
are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

1. The term vóbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Āróre (Catepillar) clan
Ewåguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

/271/

Čera Phratry:

Bādejaba (Chief) clan

O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan

Ki (Tapir) clan

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan

Bakoro clan

Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

The morphological structure of the village directly indicates the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis. A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves: the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/) in the foreground the O Čera Čębege^{w}ō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreǒ, Bokodori Čębege^{w}ō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada$^{\sim}$ huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure. But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čåbōge^{w}ōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^{w}ōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewâguddudõge čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewâguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Ãróre čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Ãróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čębegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokęjeʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokęje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokęjeʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewâguddudõge bo'pokęjeʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewâguddudõge kurigeb, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/273 cont./

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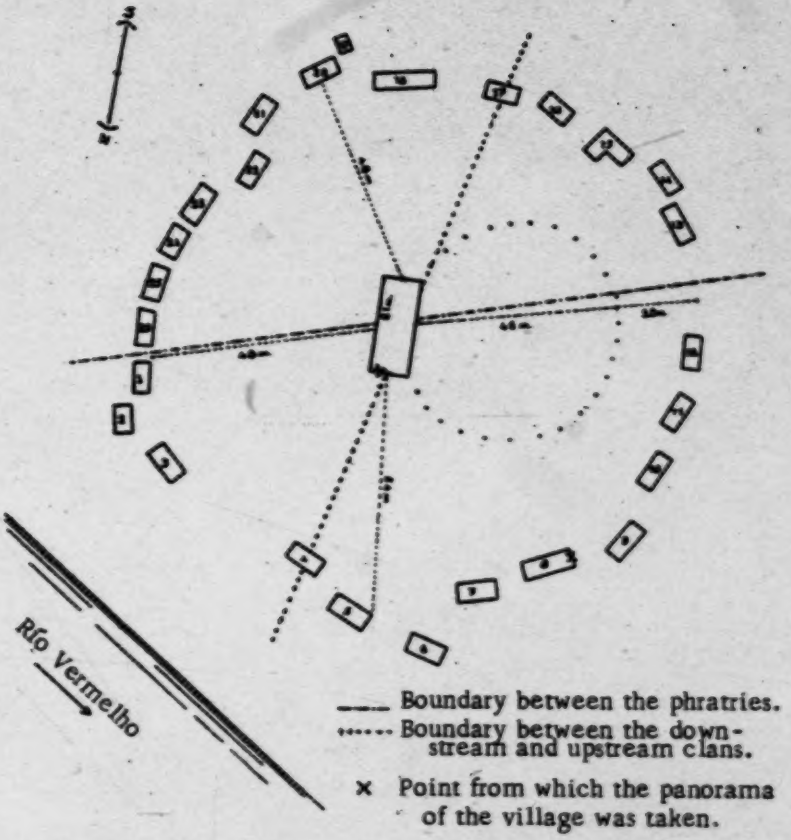
Río Vermelho
Boundary between the phratries.
Boundary between the down-stream and upstream clans.
Point from which the panorama of the village was taken.

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čaböge$^{\omega}$öge are on the left (upstream) and the Čebege$^{\omega}$öge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddade$^{\pi}$ge.

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõgeʷõ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõgeʷõ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddadaⁿ

(čẹbegeʷõ half)
5. Bokodori Čera čẹbegeʷõ
6. Ki kujagoreb
7. Ki
8. O Čera čẹbegeʷõ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čẹbegeʷõ
11. Bãdejeba čẹbegeb baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddadaⁿge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čẹbegeʷõ bo'pokẹjeʷõ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārórę ̌ębege^{ω}õ
14. Ārórę čębege^{ω}õ
15. Ẹ̀wåguddu ̌ereo̊ kurigeo̊ ̌ębege^{ω}õ
16. Ẹ̀wåguddu bo'pokẹje^{ω}õ ̌ębege^{ω}õ
17. Ẹ̀wåguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaãge
(cȧbõge^{ω} õ half) 18. Ẹ̀wåguddu kujagoreo̊ etu'ieemage ̌ȧbõge^{ω}õ
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārórę ̌ȧbõge^{ω}õ baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārórę ̌ȧbõge^{ω}õ
22. Apibore kujagoreo̊
23. Apibore ̌oreo̊
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe ̌oreo̊
26. Paiwe kujagoreo̊

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārórę clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ẹ̀wåguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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554 551 614 [582] Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued within the clans and that economic differences accompany the bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans. These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 764 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 614 616 [345] It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice. The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 614 551 [161] Most often these distinctions are established by proper names. It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

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Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Ārórę čābōgę̃ō
	Iparečęba (id.)	Ārórę baiaddadą
	Wapa (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadą
	Merit'awāra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokęjewo
O Čera	Uaboreō (?-Uabo: heart)	Ewāguddu
	At'ugoreō (The Painted Man)	Ārórę čębegę̃ō
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ewāguddu bo'pokęjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Ewāguddu baiaddadą
	Māra (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadą

/280/

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Cilthead)	Ewāguddu čoreō
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadą
	Ariga Coča (?-Ariga: puma)	Ewāguddu čābōgę̃ō
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobę)
	Kario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Broge)

/280 cont./

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Clan	Name	Marries with
	Cera Phratry	
Bóro	Bok'arebo (?)	Ārŏre baiaddada
	Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Apibore kujagoreŏ
	Tugare Phratry	
Paiwe	Baiporo (door?)	Bokodori Čera
	Meriri kurigeŏ (Big Light)	Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Brogę (?-indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera
	Kru'guga uobę (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge
Ewãguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth)	Ki
	Aria kurigeŏ (Big Saucepan?)	Ki
	Butaregãde (?)	Bokodori
Āróre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bãdejeba

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614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

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582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by [595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy among the Bororo.[1]

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[1] [Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

/285 cont./ Tuřawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
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1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

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Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
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764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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/287 cont./

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are sung without stopping:

ᵂuręᵐure	foot, foot
kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę	we others
čę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ėwãguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bãdejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ėwãguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewăguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:

harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;

"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;

bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;

ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

● [216] [531] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. Kario Bokodori — C. Ewăguddu (?) —
D. Apibóre kujagoreŏ — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore —
H. Bădejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kŏge Čera —
K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text Continues on p. 30]

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and $po^{a}ri$), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

• 616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarer
[993] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and perhaps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
614 562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Ãróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on P. 36]

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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[115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[797] years, the ˇCera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba ˇCâboge^{w}ō or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba ˇCębege^{w}ō or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the ˇCera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba ˇCębege^{w}ō, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into ˇCębege^{w}ōge and ˇCâbōge^{w}ōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ^{a}Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

/302 cont./

571 614 ●616 621 [634] side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the Bādejebage Čabōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained. While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them, we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

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571 614 ●616 621 [634] For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact) as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that Tušawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections, and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends [592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men, while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many [825] younyounger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con- [713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

127 128

Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

080 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

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A

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B

C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

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A. The men's house, door of the Tugare.
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan.
C. Dance of the buriti clan.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

only the Cabocass

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

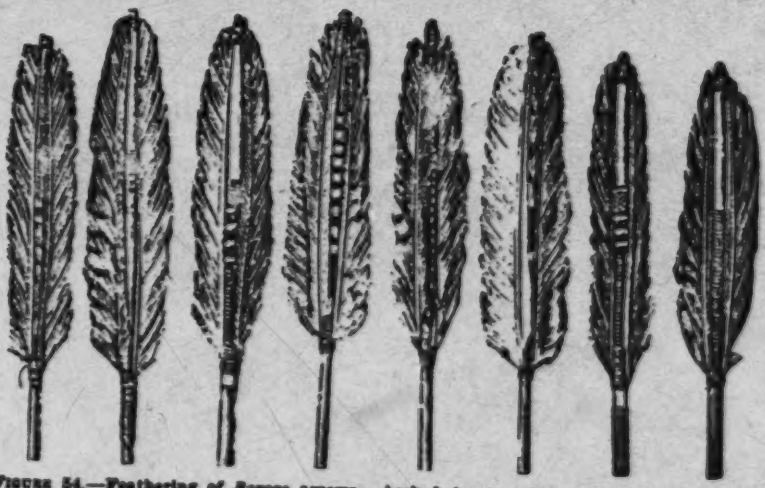

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅙ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

● 616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal
duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

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Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which

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FIGURE 52.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

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women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him.

[616]

[27]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from nubiety exogamy and 582 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage 174 with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as 585 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous 591 husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

763 **Death observances.**—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is cov- 602 ered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk 764 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's [622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 **Mortuary rites** are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve 224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A ● [616] mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him 881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for 764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread 764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

Extragenealogical Extensions of Kinship Terms

*601 613 On the most basic level of contrast, relatives from the same lineage, e.g., mother and siblings, are designated as "iwobe." The other kinsmen are not covered by any common term. One of my informants explained it to me in this way: "my mother is iwobe, my 'older brother' is iwobe, my 'older sister' is iwobe; all my 'younger siblings' are iwobe, but my 'father' is my 'father,' my 'grandfather' is my 'grandfather,' etc. Only my 'older brother' who gave me the name is the 'grandfather' who is my iwobe."

When contrasted on a higher level, all the lineages of a subclan can be considered iwobe in contrast to another subclan. For example, a man of the subclan Ivagududoge Choreu, the "Black Ivagududoge," will consider only the people who are Ivagududoge Choreu as iwobe, while he will consider as imedage, "companions," or "people like myself," those belonging to the other subclan Ivagududoge Kujagureu, the "Red Ivagududoge." But when the contrast is made between two different clans (rather than subclans), the same man would, for example, recognize as iwobe all the Ivagududoge, "Black" and "Red" alike, in opposition to the clan of Araroe.

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*601 616 The merging can be carried further including into iwobe the people of one's own moiety in opposition to those of the other moiety. The latter will be called cheyorubodarege, or cheyadumege (first person plural exclusive). The meaning of

*601 613 iyorubodare (fem. iyorubodaredu), on the basic level of contrast, is approximately "a person from the lineage with which

*601 613 my lineage is traditionally bound in reciprocal exchange of spouses and ceremonial duties." I will translate yorubodare as "allié," and the relationship between yorubodare as "alliance." Members of the opposite sex of an allied lineage, e.g., potential or actual spouses, are also alternatively designated as ikoge ("my husbands") and ivire ("my wives"). Even if a person does not marry into an allied lineage he will continue to call its members by these terms. Also, one's "initiator" ideally should be chosen from such an allied lineage, but he will still be designated as yorubodare even if he was chosen from some other nonallied lineage. The definition of yadu, of which yadumege is the plural, is more *601 613 controversial. When somebody dies his relatives from the same lineage call the person chosen to represent the dead, • 616 768 yadu. But, when speaking of yadumege as a group, the Bororo have discordant opinions whether or not this term should be applied to: (a) all the people from the other moiety, part of whom are more specifically considered yorubodarege; (b) the members of the lineages which are not yorubodarege (in this case the moiety is conceived as being divided into yorubodarege and yadumege); (c) some specific lineages with which one's own lineage stands in a relationship of traditional exchange of representatives of the dead;[1] or (d) actual representatives of the dead, who preferentially should be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages.

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[1] this is a theoretical supposition, since no Bororo can give any concrete example of this kind.

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother.
82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! Ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death
768 Another important transfer of terms is connected with
• 616 funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village.
[765] If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

*601 768 • 616 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.

Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [598] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 533 765 195 A different set of terms, which are considered more poetic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member 614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of broth- [604] ers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) [613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, 616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had 621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the 613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
● [616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

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Table X

Lineage:	Subclan:	Clan:	Moiety:
1. Arua	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
2. Bakorobadu			
3. Ocha Eduroa	Echerae		
4. Badajeba Eudoro	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Ziyo	
5. Ki Bakororo			
6. Jakorari			
7. Enruguwari Pijiwu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge		
8. Inokuri	Chebegiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	
9. Kaigu	Chobugiwuge		
10. Mamuyuwuge Echeba	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
11. Bokwareho			
12. Akaruyo Bokodori			
13. Jarigi Otojiwu	O-Boro Echerae		
14. Aturua	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Paiwoe	Tugarege
15. Baiporo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
16. Apuyo Echeba	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Apiborege	
17. Enrugegua			
18. Boruge	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
19. Baitogoço	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Araroe	
20. Birimodo			
21. Butoro Agadu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagududoge	
22. Jakomea Atugodojeba			
23. Boge Enogwa Tabovu			
24. Aroya Enrireu	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
25. Tadugo			
26. Mano Enriroa	Chebegiwuge, Kujagureuge	Araroe	

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table XI

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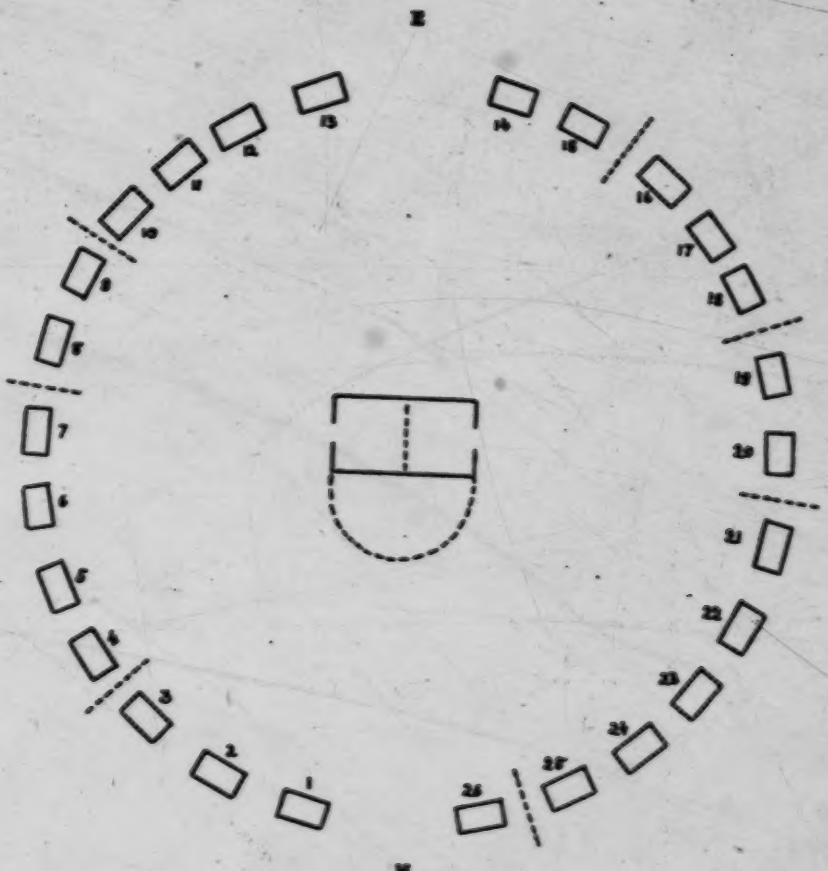

made a complete circle. I did not find that one direction was preferred over the other. But whatever their starting point was, and whichever direction they took, they would complete the circle rather than make two opposite semicircles.

Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Hagurereu may be considered separated lineages of closely related brothers. But, while most of the informants in the similar case of Ki Bakororo, Jakorari, and Badajeba Kudoro would enumerate all three of them, the informants in the case of Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Hagurereu would say only one of the names, the one they preferred. And if asked about the other two names, they would say that those too are the same lineage as the first one. Following this usage, I put all of those names under one lineage.

Clan and Moiety

We now approach one of the most interesting and most discussed aspects of Bororo social organization, that is, the village plan and the division into moieties, clans, and subclans. Two exogamous moieties are divided by an east-west axis. On the northern side are the Tugarege, on the southern the Echerae. Because of the lay of the land which the Bororo inhabit, east is at the same time upstream, and west is downstream. In each moiety there are four clans arranged in a circle. As can be seen from the list on page 121, I did not find each clan to be divided into three subclans: upper, middle, and lower, as has been reported by others (Albisetti & Venturelli, 1962: 437; Crocker, 1969: 45). In my diagram

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Aroroe Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

• 616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

1 "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

616 their companions), for their companions Aroroe, their companions Paiwoe, their companions Apiborege. Thus the name of all these people is Tugarege."[1]

Tugo (arrow) is the ancestor par excellence of the Ivagududoge, but by dividing the arrows among their moiety "brothers," the Ivagududoge shared their ancestor with the other clans of their moiety.

The name of the other moiety, Echerae, is not derived from any ancestral item. Meri (the sun) is supposed to have given the name to the Echerae in one song. My informants said that the word did not have other denotations. "Owners of the songs," the meaning given in the Enciclopédia Bororo (p. 438), also has to do with singing, and this fits well with the general characteristics of the Echerae moiety, as will be shown later.

827 The equivalence of ancestors and descendants explains the old controversy about whether or not the Bororo believe they are macaws (Von den Steinen, 1894: 512; Levy-Bruhl, 1966: 62; Vygotski, 1962: 71-72; Geertz, 1966: 37-38; Barnes, 1969: 614 98). Red macaws (nabure), with which, according to Von den 616 Steinen, the Bororo claim identity, are the ancestors of the 827 Aroroe. On the other hand, one myth tells how the Bokodori Echerae threw themselves into the fire and became red macaws

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1 Awu Tugarege, Tugarege eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Awu Ivagududoge emagere etogeadure tugoji chaje. Eigoyare ichare ere tugo kogu kado tumedagei, tumeduya Aroroei, tumeduya Paiwoei, tumeduya Apiboregei. Du kodire ichare eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Oino."

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo--curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kioqwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujaqureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kuqurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka--the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

571 593 613 616 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance). They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, ornaments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and representatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

571 613 539 773 616 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also bakugumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo Iwararege eimejera (the chief of the Iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."

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1 "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure Iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Ararorae) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)

uku ika (a musical instrument)

pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)

baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)

okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)

biyadawu "chuqui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)

enotadawu "kuruqugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo iroqodu (body painting)

imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)

imo pariko (a headdress)

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Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

imo irogodu (body painting)

Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.
769 Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it
115 possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

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But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many subclans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge [825] [776] (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije [774] belonging to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujaqureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Ituborere ema pugeje."

773 Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or
• 616 Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)
571 Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badaje-
[776] bage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Aroroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 As a second example I list the lineages with which the
616 clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships
614 (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in
613 each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

571 changed:
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Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Hamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
• 616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
[582] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[881] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [769] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, poburеu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, koraо rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugure erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for their actions. I could not detect any great concern over what had happened.

Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare, you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between woman married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or metado (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

Chapter XI

CULTURE AND NATURE: AROE AND BOPE

593 772 Many of the relationships between older and younger brothers show the older brother associated with culture and the younger brother associated with nature. Since older and younger brothers are hierarchically related as superior and inferior, we would expect culture and nature to stand in similar hierarchical relationship. Instead, as will be shown in this chapter, culture and nature are not valued as superior and inferior. Their characteristics can be compared, their features can be contrasted, but in most cases culture and nature are not directly related and do not interact with each other.

772 616 The opposition between culture and nature does not affect the relationship of reciprocity between yorubodare, i.e., between moieties. Neither of the two moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature. As we shall see in greater detail later, both moieties can claim some cultural characteristics, and both moieties can claim some natural characteristics.

772 Finally, culture and nature, though not in hierarchical relationship, remain in sharp opposition; and yet from another perspective they could be regarded as equivalent: they

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.

773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[614] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
614 leges of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"--one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigbo means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties.
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

considered famous and great precisely because he did so little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth. But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture. Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east), and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the Enciclopedia Bororo show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7; Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
539 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
83 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

Mature women, when menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spatially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the village to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sisters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire. Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony; sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual affairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least during the night. The continuity of the society must be assured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with ceremonies, or to be proud of.

Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs, ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would require the space of another book. With death a man's passage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kuruguqwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated--separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

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846 Karl von den Steinen (a.o. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order [825] to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

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616 614 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however, like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 [614] Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the [304] [562] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe] 551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso [113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the [614] [616] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/133 cont./

000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland /To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar 58[illegible] among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the [illegible]iages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list reproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

• 616 589 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

616 562 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50): "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them,

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty, and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in public, even though not so scrupulously; it will, however, be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to be together, except when they leave the house and both go to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest; this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the man's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal), while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
• [616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already found out "that any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral." Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.
We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
562 (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner: "When the contention within the hut reached the culminating point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass /148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure, the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
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None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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palm, leaving a deep well in which the sap collects by upward seepage. She covers the opening with leaves, and by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into reeds, which they use as pipettes. When a reed is full, they close the top quickly with a thumb and transfer the sap to large pots. It is then taken back to the village and left in the shade for a day to ferment.

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For a change of pace from the ritual dances of the funerary ceremony, the Bororo engage in an unusual kind of relay race. Two teams of young men—each team representing one of the two moieties of the society—oppose each other. Men of the two groups cut stems of buriti palms, trim them to a uniform length, and tie them into two huge circular bundles resembling cart wheels. Each one is about three feet in diameter and may weigh more than one hundred pounds. With a "cart wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man from each team begins running toward the village. When he tires under his heavy burden, the bundle is taken over

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[p. 45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

151 825 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 [524] Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men [825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saũba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or [501] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high, [824] brought the material down the river on rude floats made of [616] bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Shcraidi* and the *Ta Nagarčda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 616 But primitive men must do things decently and in order as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now steps quickly over to the *Sheraidi* group, grasps a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheraidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm. 526 616

The signal to begin the race being given, each team instantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows. 526 [361] [345] [352]

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals—if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall nearly every evening just after nightfall. 533 [512] [345]

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
564 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Shcraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Shcraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Shcraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whet-stone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 264 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two 276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 264 616 [252] [415] A few hours after sunrise, an *arida* appeared at the entrance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six- [261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two 574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro 576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherâide* and *Tugarégede*.
●616 A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherâide* moiety *cherâi* and women *cherâre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubûdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubûdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

601 There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

[582] Women of the opposite side are called mothers-
601 in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If
616 old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imâna*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imânapega* or *yedâga*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedâgapega;* mother's brothers are *yedâga;* father's sister's

[p. 127 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP2

daughter's husband is also *yedága*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *inúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaráde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibógiwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8
[P.127-A]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherúde* and *Tugarégede*. A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherúde* moiety *cherúi* and women *cherére*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdarédroga; drógo* meaning little.

There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

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6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SPI Bacairi
Bororo SPP
[P.127-B]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/6 6/7 daughter's husband is also *yedága*. Boys are *méde*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwiye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

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Cherâide clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcheri.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tchibógiwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kódjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.